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Parents also scare their children by threatening them with dangerous creatures like scorpions and snakes. They scold them by saying: 'May you be bitten by a scorpion or a snake.' Apart from the fact that such scolding may be taken as a warning against the danger of such creatures, it is considered as a frightening threat to the children. Some children told me that they would prefer their parents swearing at them by the snake rather than by the scorpion. They told me that the reason for their hatred of the scorpion is that it was a wicked creature, which stings ruthlessly and indiscriminately, whereas the snake bites only when it is provoked. An older lad present remarked that the scorpion is the enemy of Moslems. He related that once upon a time a snake curled round a man's leg and yet nothing dangerous happened to the man; then a scorpion passed by and bit both the snake and the man, and caused their deaths. In the same gathering of boys, one of them told me that he actually saw the 'silowa' passing by him while he was sleeping near the harvest. He went on to say that after it had quenched its thrist, it gave a terrifying sound before going to its dwelling in the hills.

During childhood the instilling of fear is one of the expedients that parents constantly use to repress their children and make them docile. Yet I noticed that older boys, as well as adults, were highly ashamed of admitting fear of anything; to be courageous like a lion is the sign of a daring male, while for a girl, timidity is not a defective trait. One might suggest, in the light of Bateson and Mead's findings in Bali, that the horrifying mythical images of 'silowa' and 'ghool' are a cultural projection of the ambivalent feeling towards the parents, the 'silowa' symbolizing the mother, and the 'ghool' representing the father. Parents are thus represented as being both loving and affectionate as well as frightening and devouring.[1] Children also tell the story of the enticing man who comes to them while asleep, wakes them up, offers them dates, and leads them to an unknown world in the mountains. During the journey he reiterates that the child's mother is in front of him, and whenever the child asks about his mother he is always told that she is waiting at a short distance ahead. Thus the enticing man, by taking the children away from their homes, devours them when he feels secure.

Fear responses were quite striking during the Rorschach testing of the children as revealed by the frequent occurrence of responses such as 'silowa', 'ghool', 'scorpion', 'snake', 'wolf', 'fire', and 'blood', many of which do not actually match the blots chosen.

Moreover in the dreams of both boys and girls, the manifestations of fear, repression, and anxiety cannot escape one's notice, however one interprets these dreams. In boys' dreams, one comes across images of a child afraid of the village barber cutting off his head, the ground on which the boy is lying sinking down, a boy being chased by older people, another boy being stung by a scorpion and his family wailing for him, and so on,

[1] See also Chapter VIII on 'Children's Tales'.

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Girls' dreams reveal the images of being in danger of drowning in the canal, black jinns with frightening eyes following them, men beating them, and so on.[1]

Children also show fear of certain places believed to be inhabited by evil spirits, for example, deserted or ruined houses, deserted wells, spots where a murder was committed, some certain areas round the cemetery, a spot where a train ran down a person or an animal. It is believed by children and many adults that the person who meets a violent end will reappear as a violent ghost—'sul' or 'marid'—haunting people at night and causing them harm by frightening them with its fiery eyes. A boy of twelve told me of this horrified feeling, when on an errand at night the 'sul' followed him, throwing stones at him, but it disappeared suddenly when the boy passed by a gathering of people on his way, as the 'sul' only appears to a person walking alone at night. Children are also warned against talking to or looking at their shadows, especially on moonlit nights, as this might lead them to insanity. The girls are warned against looking too much at their shadows at night or at their reflection in the mirror for fear of the same malady. To avoid evil spirits, however, children are told to recite the 'Fatiha' or any part of the Koran on passing near the haunted places. Charms are also held to protect children from such dangers.

In discussing these sources and manifestations of fear, especially those connected with the supernatural world, one cannot ignore the psychoanalytical interpretation which considers spirits and demons as projections of repressed aggressive tendencies against beloved persons. The writer is inclined to explain children's fears and their genuine belief in the existence of ogresses and bogies in the village as a projection of repressed hostile attitudes towards their parents or other members of the family.[2]

In this connection, one is tempted to ask the question: to what extent does the incentive of fear as a motive, so much emphasized in the village, affect the undercurrent trends of the social relationship between the villagers? The tension and suspicion discerned in the interpersonal relationships epitomized in the saying that 'every man has an enemy' could be related to the excess in resorting to both fear and rivalry motives in the bringing up of children. The favourite legendary figure of 'Jiha' is liked by both children and adults, because of his trickery and cunning that always enables him to take revenge.[3] It could also be suggested that this anxiety and fear through which children are stimulated is partially

[1] See Appendix XI.

[2] S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, pp. 87, 140.

For a reference to the striking feelings of ambivalence of children towards their parents in primitive society, see M. Fortes, 'Parenthood in Primitive Society', where he says that as the parents in primitive societies are responsible for the passing on of cultural traditions, relations of children towards their parents tend to be ambivalent. There is commonly a feeling of hostility underlying the affection and gratitude of children felt towards their parents. *Man*, May 1952, p. 65.

[3] See Chapter VIII.

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The writer is however aware that his surmise concerning the stimulation of memory in the village's culture is neither fully documented nor based on experimental data as was that of Nadel's experiments to ascertain the differences in cognitive processes between the school children of the two neighbouring tribes, the Yoruba and the Nupe.[1]

Moreover, the writer cannot comment on the effect of such a cultivation of the habits of rote memory on the individual's character structure. That there is a relationship between the method of learning and the individual's attitude towards himself, and his interpretations of experience, is claimed by Bateson and Mead. They maintain that if the individual is brought up in habits of rote memory 'his character will be profoundly different from what would result from habits of learning by insight'.[2]

It can also be shown than the interests and imagination of children are tied down to concrete things and events such as food, animals, ceremonies, farm work, and so forth. It was found that the majority of their responses to story completion, free drawings and in Rorschach testing were highly impregnated with concrete realism.[3] One cannot fail to notice that both

[1] Nadel, from his experiments with story recounting and responses to pictures on some children of those two tribes, concluded that a people possessing a highly developed realistic art and drama, and a rich, complicated, and rationalized religious system, is characterized in the field of psychological reaction by stress on rational elements, logical cohesion, and strongly pronounced meaning-oriented approach as to what is presented to them. On the other hand, a people whose culture lacks such art and drama and whose religious beliefs are centred round abstract and impersonal principles, are psychologically different in the sense that they are more detached and inconsequent in observation and memory, enumerative, more sensitive to spatial and temporal arrangement, stressing unity of situation and emotional tone rather than facts and meaning and rational consistency. 'A Field Experiment in Racial Psychology', in *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. XXVIII, 1937–8, pp. 195–211.

R. H. Thouless, experimenting on the perception of twenty Indian students and a group of British students, concludes that the former group showed a significantly greater tendency towards 'phenomenal regression' to the real object than the latter group. For instance, in the case of the Indian students there was greater tendency for circular objects inclined to the observer to be drawn as wide ellipses, for parallel-sided objects with the sides receding from the observer to be represented as parallel, and for objects of the same real size at different distances to be drawn with very little difference in size. 'A Racial Difference in Perception', in *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. IV, 1933, pp. 330–9.

[2] Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead, *The Balinese Character*, p. 84.

[3] For typical examples of story completion and Rorschach responses, see appendices.

As to free drawings, the writer has on two occasions asked pupils in the compulsory school to draw whatever they wanted to, and the following is a list of the subjects drawn: oranges, girls carrying baskets on their heads, a boy tending sheep, a car and a palm tree, a boy riding a donkey and a car behind him, a girl feeding a chicken, fish, a car with people gathered around it, palm tree and water, two boys racing on donkey back, ducks, a house, a trader selling sugar to a girl, lemons, bananas and oranges, a man cutting sugar-cane, a boy climbing a palm tree, a girl beating a tambourine, a ceremonial procession near the mosque, a farewell procession for a pilgrim.

When I asked some of the children about their drawings, none of them told me of any plot in the drawing. They were purely representative of things and concrete events. The children's drawings were characterized by the almost entire absence of 'landscape' in

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children and adults have their feet firmly established on the ground, and fancies of imagination are neither encouraged nor desirable.

My informant, Ali, told me a point which is relevant to this question of imagination. He said that one should not think in terms of 'if' or 'as if', as according to the prophetic tradition, ' "if" opens the path for the Devil's advance'. It is also interesting to mention that the classical Arabic word for imagination (khayal) is used in the village to denote 'shadow', and does not refer to a mental process, except, of course, to some literate persons. This does not mean that some children are not imaginative, and they are recognized by other children who may sometimes sneer at them by asking them to relate some of their fantasies (literally pinches). Children would tell you that such flights of fancy run through certain families. Adults, however, do not expect children to use, much less exercise or enrich, their imagination as this would hamper their social and economic maturity.

In discussing the formal educational institutions in the village at the present time, the Kuttab comes first in importance, as it is the indigenous school for memorizing the Koran. The word 'Kuttab' is an old Arabic word, connected in its etymological derivation with the word 'kitab' (book), being the place where the Holy Book is learnt. The educational ideals and methods of this institution are mainly influenced by the Islamic tradition of learning, an example of which is the advice given by the Caliph Harun al Rashid to al-Ahmar, the tutor of his son, al-Amin, in which he said: 'O, Ahmar, I have given you the child of my blood, the fruit of my loins, and given you power over him, and made him obedient to you; therefore prove worthy of this position. Teach him the Koran, History, Poetry, Traditions, and appreciation of eloquence. Prevent him from laughing except on proper occasions. Accustom him to respect the Sheikhs of the Hashimite family, and to offer a place to the military commanders if they attend to his council. . . . Do not be too kind to him, or he will take to idleness. Improve him kindly, but if that will not suffice, you can treat him harshly.'[1]

Another example would also serve to illustrate the content and method of Islamic education. This is taken from the instructions given by 'Amr Ibn 'Utbah to the tutor of his sons: 'My sons will be deeply influenced by you: favour what you do, and abhor what you avoid. Teach them the Koran, but without wearying them of it, recite to them what is good in traditions, and chaste in poetry. . . . Teach them the virtues of wise men, and keep them away from women's conversation.'[2] Whether with private

content and of 'perspective' in technique; with persons walking sideways in the ancient Egyptian tradition of drawing.
For similar results about free drawings, see Margaret Mead, *Growing up in New Guinea*, p. 12.

[1] A. Ibn Khaldoun, *al-Mukkadimah*, Cairo, p. 399 (Arabic).
[2] A. Shalaby, 'History of Moslem Education' (Ph.D. Thesis, unpublished, Cambridge University, 1950).

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Appendix One

THE LIFE HISTORY OF INFORMANTS

GENERAL REMARKS

In writing the life history of my informants—Ali (who is a distant relative) and Mahmoud (who is related by marriage)—I found very little direct information forthcoming from them. Although their confidence was won with respect to their forthrightness in describing the village life and traditions, both were very reserved in talking about their own life. Neither relished the idea of being singled out from the whole village, or being mentioned in a book. 'Why do you want to portray my life especially, and bring it before the English people?' said Mahmoud. 'Let us (in Arabic the plural pronoun is commonly used instead of the first singular) live covered and unexposed in our village; we do not want other people to know about the details of our life.' The writer realized this difficulty from the very beginning of his work, and tried to convince the villagers, as well as the informants, that such research had nothing to do with the Government or any other official authority in Egypt and might bring indirect benefit to them, for the suspicion had to be eradicated that anything written might be taken as a personal commitment, causing as much anxiety to the persons concerned as if they were giving evidence in a court of law. This difficulty rose again in the Rorschach testing of adults, whom the writer had to assure and even sometimes to swear by the name of Allah that this would not subject them to any official pressure or interference.

ALI

Ali, being literate, was asked to write down all he could remember of his life-story, the account of which is translated in the following:

'I was born in 1921, just a few days before the "Mawlid", the birth anniversary of the Prophet. I cannot remember anything in my life till the age of seven, except that I used to follow my older brother to the Kuttab from the age of five, and play with boys of my age. On reaching the age of seven, I started to go regularly all by myself to the Kuttab. In 1929 I began to go to the elementary school in the morning, and to the Kuttab in the afternoon, and I remained in the school until 1936, when

[P.240 is blank]

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I had to leave and concentrate on memorizing the Koran. After one year I finished the Koran and recited it for my Sheikh Ahmad Mousa to his satisfaction.[1] Then my father offered a "Karama" in the Kuttab, consisting of a meal of wheat bread and meat eaten in the Kuttab by the boys and whoever is present (as one is not supposed to invite persons for a "karama") together with a gift of a white garment to the Sheikh. This was followed by a ceremony called "dorah" (classical "dawrah") going round the village, with sheikhs reciting odes (qasidas) in praise of the Prophet, beating the drum and the tambourine (tar), and followed by other local folk as well as the Kuttab children. On this occasion I wore white clothes; this is a holy practice like that of pilgrims returning from Mecca, who also don white clothes.[2] After this, I stayed in the Kuttab as an "Areef-prefect", repeating the Koran three times during the first year, at the end of which I sat for an examination (oral) set by one of the Ministry of Education inspectors, and on passing it I received a prize of £E2. I remained as an "areef" for three years, teaching the other children, learning the "Munawi mawled"—a rhyming prose as well as poems on the birth of the Prophet, the "matn-al-Ishmawi"—in the Islamic law (Fikh), "Matn al Jawhara" in monotheistic theology (Tawheed), which is in poem form. From the age of nine I had to help my father and older brother in farm work, but I was not pressed to work as my family wished me to devote myself to Koranic studies, and this is one of the things that distinguished me from many other boys in the village. But later in life, especially after my marriage, I had to work harder in the fields. My older brother was responsible for bringing fertilizer from the hill, while my father and myself helped in the other farm tasks such as irrigation, distribution of manure, and harvesting.

'In 1940 I went to Edfu, where the first stage of military conscription examinations takes place, and I was exempted on the basis of my knowing the Koran, after I had succeeded in the oral examination held for the purpose.[3]

'A year before I was called up for conscription, I left the Kuttab and devoted myself to farm work, and I got married when I was nineteen years old. I worked on my father's land until 1944, when I was appointed as a malaria supervisor to distribute tablets of quinine to the families during the malaria epidemic. For this purpose I had to make a survey of the population in the village to distribute the tablets, accordingly asking the

[1] A memory task of some magnitude: the Koranic text is a little longer than that of the New Testament.

[2] Wearing of white clothes on certain occasions is a symbol of ceremonial cleanliness and purity.

[3] Till 1948, sons of village omdas and sheikhs, those who paid £E20 exemption fee, those who knew the Koran by heart and University students could be exempted from military conscription. Since then a law has been passed decreeing that military conscription is universal, with very few exemptions, e.g. the single supporter of a family in the case of the father's death.

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head of the family to sign or stamp whenever he received his allocation. I left this job when the malaria campaign finished in 1948 to resume my work in farming. Though farming is an honourable job, it does not suffice for the necessities of life these days and I am now looking for another job in the village.

'Later on I went to Cairo and Alexandria for a month to "see the world", and to visit the holy tombs in these two cities. Indeed, Cairo is the "Mother of the World". Yes, there is a lot of corruption and impiety, but it is preserved by the big Saints, the Mosques, and the "circles of knowledge" conducted in the Mosques. You can also hear the Koran recited beautifully on the radio, and of all this there is nothing in Silwa.

'I occupied some of my spare time in writing letters for some men and women who are illiterate, and who have relatives in Cairo or Alexandria, asking them for financial help or for clothes.'

On asking him to mention the important events in his life, he recorded:

'With regard to the important events in my life, I here refer to the incident that happened when I was very young playing with other children near the railway station. My playmates started to throw stones at each other and when I started doing the same, my stone smashed one of the glass windows of the building. I tried to escape the railway guard, but he caught me and I was sent to the omda who gave me three strokes with a stick, and my father had to pay for the repair of the glass.

'The second event I remember was my inability to speak for some time when I was fifteen years old. My parents were worried about it, and they took me to various Saints' tombs and religious men for treatment. At last they took me to a Saint's shrine near Isna, called Sheikh Al-Naggar, who is considered to be the best healer for such diseases, especially when one is "mounted by spirits" (jinns). There, with my mother, we spent a week, and from that time I was cured.

The third important event besides my marriage, occurred this year when I deputized for my father on a visit to Bardis, on the invitation of our "cousins" there who wanted to establish their holy descent.'

In assessing Ali's life with regard to his point of view as an informant he is in many ways representative of the learned section of the village population. He not only knows the Koran and is well-versed in religion, but he is also well aware of his mundane and practical duties. The greatest number of the learned men (Khotaba) of the village are either blind, lame, or landless. Ali, on the other hand, is a religious man who has occasionally performed religious functions on ceremonial occasions, and he is also a farmer who works in the fields. He takes part in reading the 'Prophet's Story' during the night-celebration of the Prophet's birth in his clan's guest house, and occasionally reads parts of the theological books on canon law (Fikh) to enlighten himself as well as other people on their religious duties. He is also called upon to write deeds and records, since his handwriting is excellent. He once told me that he took great pains

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159 in the Kuttab to improve his handwriting, as the maxim of the pious ancestors runs, 'good handwriting increases the clarity of truth'.

In the whole of Ali's life religion has meant much to him in terms of personal security. His need of recognition and for prestige is certainly satisfied by his knowledge of the Sacred Book and other sources of religious information. With his sensitive and shy nature he could not have integrated his personality except through this religious foundation. Moreover, Ali's subsistence resources have been secure so far as he is still dependent on his father and mother. At the end of every lunar month his older brother, Ahmad, carries Ali's family allowance of corn to the latter's house and no serious quarrel has occurred between him and his father or brother on these grounds. The harmony of relationship between Ali and his father's family could be also attributed to the fact that Ali still lives with his wife's people, who are about five hundred yards from his father's house, while his brother Ahmad lives in the father's household. Ali's father is about sixty-five years old, and is still a robust man, who works in the field, and is considered by his family as tight-fisted.

In contrast to his brother, Ali cares much more for his clothes and appearance in general, and this is one of the reasons his father sends him to deputize for him on various occasions. Moreover, while his brother has been a member of the 'Nakshabandi' mystic sect, Ali has never joined it, as his religious experience has been satisfied through his knowledge of the Koran and literacy, while his comparatively illiterate brother finds his satisfaction in the emotional ecstasy that is invoked by the repetitive rhythm of the mystic circle (zikr). Ali probably had not joined the mystic 593 order because his brother was already a member, and normally brothers are not found together in the Order. On asking Sheikh Hussein, who is the local head of the Order about this fact, I was told: 'Brothers do not come to the Order for the fear of the evil eye. Jacob advised his seven sons never to enter from the same door or follow each other; they should enter from different doors and always spread themselves.' Structurally, this is in harmony with the cultural values of hierarchy, order, and respect relations between brothers, as physical proximity between them in sitting or eating in public is not considered polite.

MAHMOUD

Mahmoud is illiterate, suspicious, and a proud man, so I had compiled his life history by asking him questions that would not arouse any scruples in his mind. He does not know when he was born, he remembers only that he just managed to escape the days of forced military conscription during the First World War, being two or three years younger than the eligible age.[1] This means that he is about fifty years old. My relation to

[1] These days are known in the villagers' language as 'assultah al askaria', when people from the village were conscripted to work on the military roads or as camp sentinels in Palestine during the First World War. 902

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him was that of cousin-uncle, and I used to call him Uncle Mahmoud, which he used to appreciate very much. 159

Mahmoud is the eldest and head of a family of four brothers and a half-sister, as well as a cousin living together with them. Only one of the four brothers is a full brother of Mahmoud, the other being half-brothers, while the cousin is from the paternal side, and is also the half-brother (uterine) of the other two from their mother.

Mahmoud himself was first married to his cousin, whom he divorced after having a daughter from her. He remarried, but only one daughter has survived from his second wife, and the death of his son at the age of three was due, as he thinks, to the sorcery of his first wife. Two years after the death of his first wife, her daughter was married to Hassan, Mahmoud's cousin: there is one son. One of his brothers is married to a close relative of Mahmoud's wife, and all the brothers at present are married and work together, although recently two of them went to live in new and separate houses. Before the last two brothers married, all of them were working on their land as well as three acres they usually rent. More than ten years ago one of the brothers went off to work in Cairo as a domestic servant, and since then he has never settled in the village, but pays visits occasionally to see his wife and family.

None of the brothers is literate, except the youngest, who had been conscripted into the army and has there learned to read and write as part of the army's literacy campaign for conscripts. After completing his service he volunteered as a lorry driver in the army, where he works now, leaving his wife and a small boy under the guardianship of his brother, Mahmoud.

Returning to Mahmoud himself, he worked as a farmer until the age of thirty, then he became the head of the village police (ghafeer) and this job seems to have given much scope for his pride and energy. He would usually talk about the order he maintained in the village while he was occupying that post, and emphasize the fact that everybody respected and even feared him. He was dismissed from this post after he had struck someone in a fight, and for this offence he was imprisoned for eighteen months. [683]

During his work as head of 'ghafeers', Mahmoud related with great pride that he managed to prevent the women from going to fill their jars from the Nile on account of certain rumours which had spread in the village about their behaviour along the agricultural road, and this temporary action from his side was met with general approval. It also befell him to carry out the wishes of the preacher from the city, to prevent women from following the bier of the deceased as mentioned in the chapter on social change. He added that, after his time, women reverted to their old practice. [626] [178]

Mahmoud goes to town now and again on business, but, apart from such interruptions, he spends most of his time in the village tending to his farm. Three years ago, one of his half-brothers had a disagreement with

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• 159 him and left him for Cairo, whereupon Mahmoud followed him to effect a reconciliation and the brother was persuaded to return.

A year ago he helped his cousin, who is not strong enough for farming, to open a small shop. The income from the shop as well as from farming is pooled by all the family, Mahmoud being the one who looks after the needs and requirements of all his brothers and their wives.

[755] Mahmoud is a great believer in the evil eye, and it was his practice to warn the writer against certain people by asking him to recite a 'Sura' from the Koran on passing them. He told the writer that he usually spreads on parts of his farm a handful of sand from the tomb of Saint Abu-Naggi, who lies buried on high ground, to ward off the evil eye. In this connection he related the following incident: once, a person well known for his evil eye deliberately passed by Mahmoud's farm and admired it. The same man later passed by his farm and admired his cow, which after that day gave blood instead of milk. As Mahmoud could no longer tolerate the envier, he seized upon the occasion of a funeral in the clan's guest house to which the envier belonged, and went to complain about him, holding a white flag and asking his clan to stop their kinsman from casting his evil eye on his land and animals.

Mahmoud is strong and healthy and takes special pride in the fact that the malaria epidemic did not touch him. He interprets this as evidence that his social intentions and dealing are genuinely good. And because of his health during the epidemic period, he used to visit and assist the sick, and since there were very few who could attend to the burial ceremony and prayers, he made a point of not missing any if he could manage it as attendance is a pious deed and God rewards it. He is also grateful to God

[731] that he and his brothers managed to save their bread from the torrent that destroyed most of the village harvest in 1948. They all waded into the water, spending a whole night and morning in gathering their floating stacks of corn and removing them to the dry land.

In assessing Mahmoud's personality and position in the village, one must point out the structurally precarious composition of Mahmoud's family, consisting of half-brothers and a cousin. Yet his personality, together with the close relationship between the brothers' wives, has assured the unity of the family. This might also be due in part to the fact that none of the brothers has a grown-up boy, a factor that might tempt the father to work independently.

Mahmoud combines a conservative and unimaginative nature with extraversion and a great deal of self-confidence. Although he has been to town on frequent visits and occupied an official post, he has not altered his dress or accent in favour of town ways. His 'zabout', the outer garment, still has the long and wide sleeves that stretch at least three inches past the hand, his turban is a large one, and he is fond of carrying his thick stave on moving about in the village.

Mahmoud is a satisfactory example of the older generation of the village,

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both in mentality as well as in appearance. His wide connections with other families, his geniality and warmth, win him a great deal of respect and prestige. He is also called upon to participate in Arab councils and the writer heard him once telling off another person by saying, 'You have never come out from your place near the house oven, while it is for me to take a part in the conversation in a big gathering'. His qualities for leadership make him the sort of person whose co-operation would be necessary for any plan of social reform. Unlike many other people in the village, his prestige is not based on ownership of a large-sized farm, or piety, but he compensates for that through his personality as well as his brothers' solidarity.

Mahmoud used not to say his prayers in the mosque or anywhere else for a very long time, but lately he has observed them quite regularly and thus, at last, in his own words, 'God has shown me the right way'. I was told by one of his half-brothers that Mahmoud began to be regular in saying his prayers after the successive deaths of his two grand-daughters from his sole surviving daughter. One of his main grudges in life is that he has no son, nor are there any grown-up sons in the whole of the family. It is only two years ago that his cousin had a boy whom Mahmoud pampers and carries about whenever he is free.

Mahmoud is humorously known in the village as the best eater, especially when he was younger. He told me (and I heard it from others) that he challenged some people once to eat fifteen small 'kurs' (a loaf of wheat bread six inches in diameter and half an inch in thickness) with a 'ghamoos' (vegetable), and he succeeded in doing so. He is also reputed to be skilled in slaughtering lambs and goats, and in distributing meat on ceremonial occasions.

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Appendix Eight

THE STEWART EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TEST

SAMPLES OF TEST RESPONSES

125 Tests have been recently adopted by some social anthropologists:

1. To provide quick means for collecting useful material in relatively little time.
2. To draw the attention of the field worker to data which otherwise might escape notice.
3. To be used as an objective check on one's own impressions, especially in the field of culture-personality relationship.
4. To provide means of quantitative analysis.

Tests, however, must be interpreted in their cultural context. Leighton and Kluckhohn assert that tests hold considerable promise in anthropological research, but owing to their present state of imperfection, must be used in conjunction with material obtained by the usual anthropological techniques of observation and interview.[1]

1. The Stewart Emotional Response Test

●159 This test is a series of questions asking for experiences associated with
125 five emotions: happiness, sadness, fear, anger, and shame, one question asking for the best thing that could happen to the child, and another asking for the worst that could happen.[2] After administering the test on twelve children, the responses of the following five children were chosen on the grounds of being the most complete performance. Three boys disclaimed their experience of such emotions, while others gave confused answers.

No girls' responses are recorded here. I found them most frustrating in
[156] this respect, except in the Rorschach ink-blots. Young girls were 'giggly'; older ones were shy and uneasy. Their way out was 'I don't know; I am not a man'. They probably refused to co-operate because the tests were first administered on the boys from whom they heard about them. After

[1] D. Leighton and C. Kluckhohn, *Children of the People*, p. 227.
[2] Ibid., p. 247.

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trying this test on five girls, and the Moral Ideology test on two other girls, I had to give up trying any more. It certainly requires more time and patience than I could then afford to elicit responses from girls. These verbal tests must have seemed to them fruitless and pointless.

For happiness

A. *A boy of seven years:*
1. When we celebrated the feast, we played and went to visit the 'Sahabi'.
2. When I go out to play without taking my younger brother with me.
3. Nothing.

B. *A boy of nine years:*
1. When my maternal uncle returns from Alexandria.
2. When my grandfather comes from Port Fouad where he works at present. He has been away for a long time; we want him at home.
3. When my brother was circumcised.

C. *A boy of twelve years:*
1. When his father sent him to the Kuttab.
2. When he eats meat with 'Sakhini' and 'Gras' (sing. 'Gurs'). ('Sakhini' are onions cooked in oil, and 'Gras' are wheat loaves.)
3. When the feast comes, there is no work for him and he does not go to school.

D. *A boy of fourteen years:*
1. When they circumcised his brother and paraded around the village in a ceremony.
2. When he went to the Kuttab.
3. When the harvest time comes (time of plenty) and when 'the "baraka" of God' is in the house.

E. *A boy of fifteen years:*
1. When he went to Cairo, and saw the palaces,[1] cars and the Zoo.
2. When his father wanted to examine him in the Koran, threatening to punish him if he found that he did not know it well, but he was all right, so he was happy.
3. When his father bought him a new garment and a pair of sandals.

For sadness, fear, anger and shame

A. *A boy of seven years:*
1. I was sad when my grandmother died.
2. I shall be sad if my father dies.
3. I become angry when my parents beat me.
4. When other boys strike me I become angry, so I fight them.

[1] Modern houses of the city are usually referred to by the villagers as 'palaces'.

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5. I shall be angry if I have to leave the Kuttab.
6. I am afraid of the Ghost (Sul) and the shadows at night. I am also afraid of the scorpion and the snake.

B. *A boy of nine years:*

1. I became sad when the cow I was taking to the canal to drink, trod down the field and spoilt some of the plants; then my father came and brought it out from the plants.
2. When the ball I am playing with lands on top of the roof of a house which is not our house. Then I become afraid of climbing the walls to retrieve it.
3. I become afraid when I beat another boy and he goes to tell my father.
4. I felt angry when an older boy struck me, so I told my father to beat him.

C. *A boy of twelve years:*

1. When his father does not give him money to spend on sweets on market day he becomes sad and goes to his mother.
2. When his father sees him playing with other boys whilst he should be working, he threatens and frightens him.
3. He becomes angry when his father quarrels with his mother, spilling food and throwing it away.

D. *A boy of fourteen years:*

1. He was sad when he went to the field, and on his return home discovered that he brought clover for the sheep, but forgot to bring vegetables for his mother.
2. He is sad when he is beaten without reason.
3. He gets angry when someone curses his father. It is only the illegitimate child who can hear his father being cursed and does nothing about it. To curse one's father is as blasphemous as cursing one's religion.
4. He would feel ashamed if he went about in rags.

E. *A boy of fifteen years:*

1. I am afraid of Our God (Rabbana), and of father, and of those who are older than I am.
2. I am afraid of the cold, of hunger, and of not being properly clothed (lit. naked—'Iryan).
3. I am angry when I forget to say my prayers.
4. I would be ashamed if I had not had my hair cut.
5. I would be ashamed when my sister grew up and her breasts became conspicuous and she was still not married. Other boys would shame me by drawing my attention to my unwanted sister (lit. barren—bayri).[1]

When asked 'What is the best thing that could happen to you?' the previous boys gave the following answers:

[1] The same word applies to the uncultivated land.

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A. *A boy of seven years:*
To be able to play ball with other boys, without the interference of my younger brother.[1]

B. *A boy of nine years:*
When I find money dropped on the ground, or left around after the market.

C. *A boy of twelve years:*
When I have a good meal with lots of meat.

D. *A boy of fourteen years:*
What do I want more than sufficient 'food and drink'?[2]

E. *A boy of fifteen years:*
To be rich and endowed with 'baraka', and so be able to help the poor and feed the hungry.

When asked 'What is the worst thing that could happen to you?' the same boys gave these instances:

A. To be stung by a scorpion.
B. To be thrashed by my father.
C. That someone younger than I slaps me on the face and I am unable to retaliate.
D. To die in a fire or drown at sea.
E. To see my mother ill. To work as hired labourer on another person's land (not his father's).

[1] This boy gave almost this response twice, an acute symptom of sibling rivalry.
[2] This is an idiomatic Arabic phrase: the word drink cannot, of course, have the English connotation of intoxicant.

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Appendix Nine

MORAL IDEOLOGY TEST

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BAVELAS MORAL IDEOLOGY TEST

THIS test is designed to ascertain the public official moral ideas of the group. The child is asked for three things that would be considered good for him or for a boy of his age to do; and for the same number of things that would be considered bad to do. The individual responses are taken to indicate not just how the child acts in a given situation, but how he thinks people in general want him to act.[1]

The first part of the test was elicited in this way: 'What could you or a boy of your age do that would be a good thing for which father, the family or the people would praise you? Mention three things.'[2]

A. *Age Nine:*
   1. Go on errands for my parents, buying tea and sugar for mother and cigarettes for father.
   2. Memorize my assignment of the Koran.
   3. I don't know anything else.

B. *Age ten:*
   1. To take the cow to the farm and feed it.
   2. What else? There is nothing more pleasing to father than this.
   3. To lead the blind on the way.

C. *Age thirteen:*
   1. To go straight without making trouble with other boys.
   2. To fetch water home.
   3. Attend to the animals in the field and at home.

D. *Age thirteen:*
   1. To attend to his work.
   2. Not to beat younger children.
   3. To keep quiet and not play, as such conduct pleases his father.

[1] Alex Bavelas, 'A Method for Investigating Individual and Group Ideology', in *Sociometry*, Vol. V, 1942.

[2] The five boys tested here are not the same boys tested previously.

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E. *Age sixteen:*
1. To fetch fertilizer from the hills.
2. To be a 'pious boy' and obey his parents.
3. To save a swimmer who is in danger of being drowned.

Each of the same boys were asked: 'What could you or a boy of your age do that would be a bad thing, that makes father, family or other people think badly of you? Mention these things.'

A. *Age nine:*
1. To hit my younger brother.
2. Not to share food with him on being asked by my mother.
3. To be greedy in eating.

B. *Age ten:*
1. To neglect his work and play.
2. To break things.
3. To drop and lose money on being sent to buy something from the shop.

C. *Age thirteen:*
1. Not to feed the animals.
2. Not to fetch water.
3. To curse one's religion.

D. *Age thirteen:*
1. To swear at one's parents.
2. To play, for play makes one forget the Koran that one has memorized.
3. I don't know.

E. *Age sixteen:*
1. Not to be a good Moslem by not saying his prayers, and if having much money not helping the poor.
2. To be envious of other people.
3. To smoke and to tell lies.

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Appendix Ten

STORY COMPLETION TEST

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THE story completion test, composed of nine stories, is based on the pattern of stories devised by Pintner for the assessment of various aspects of the child's personality, e.g. attitude towards authority, moral tendencies, interests, wishful thinking, fears and anxieties.[1] Such aspects of the personality are not only important from the psychological, but also from the sociological viewpoint. The writer considers the use of such tests as relevant material for this study. Some of Pintner's stories were adapted, two were omitted, and story 5 was added. The test was administered in the following way. Every boy was told, 'I am going to start a story, and I want you to complete it in whatever way you like'. The boys were encouraged and occasional prompting was necessary on some points.

The following are the stories:

1. Once there was a boy sitting outside the house. He was not playing with other boys, but was staying all alone by himself. . . . (Why?)[2]
2. One day the parents of this boy got angry with him. . . . (What was it about? What happened? How did it end?)
3. The boy went to fetch water from the Nile on donkey-back. But on the way the water-jars were broken. . . . (What happened afterwards? Who punished him?)
4. In the street the boy was fighting with another boy. A man passed. . . . (What happened then?)
5. The boy saw his younger brother playing with a ball. . . . (What did he do?)
6. This boy had a friend he liked very much. One day he said to him: 'You come with me, and I'll show you something, but you mustn't tell anyone because it's a secret.' . . . (What did he show him? What did they do?)

[1] R. Pintner, 'Four Retests of a Personality Inventory', in *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. XXIX, 1938. These tests were pointed out to the writer by Dr. Ramzy of the Institute of Education, Cairo, who used them in his thesis 'An Experiment in Assessing Personality', London, 1948 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

[2] The bracketed questions are examples of the promptings.

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7. It was night. The boy was sleeping, and suddenly he woke up screaming. . . . (What made him wake up? What was the matter?) 159 ●
8. One night the boy dreamt he saw the angels during his sleep. They asked him to pray for something he wanted. . . . (What did he pray for?)
9. This boy is growing up. He likes to be a man. . . . (What would he like to do?)

The story completion test was given to seven boys and five of them gave [125] the following satisfactory completions:

A. *Age nine:*
1. He does not play with the other boys because they are older than he is, and he is waiting for a boy of his age to match him in the game.
2. His parents were angry because he returned late after being sent on an errand, and rebuked him for talking to other children on the way.
3. When he breaks the water-jars his mother beats him and deprives him of food.
4. The man beats the two boys who were quarrelling, tells their fathers about this, the fathers will beat their sons.
5. He would not let his younger brother play with the ball, and immediately he sees him playing, he would send him on an errand.
6. I don't know what he said to the other boy.
7. He cried, 'Oh! Father.' He imagined a wolf or a ghost or thieves breaking into the house. He feared the dark and said, 'In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful'.
8. He prayed for a good garment and a fez.
9. I don't know.

B. *Age nine:*
1. The boy does not play with the other boys because they usually strike him; they do not speak to him, nor does he speak to them or sit near them. But later on he finds another boy with whom he is on good terms and plays with him.
2. The parents got angry with the son, and hence did not feed him. This was because the boy did not obey his parents' commands, and such disobedience would bring God's anger. The boy had to go to some relatives to get food, but when his parents did not find any boy to run an errand for them, they brought him back to the house, and fed him, and thus they were reconciled.
3. When the boy broke the water-jars he went weeping to his mother, who asked him how this happened. The mother became angry and struck him for his negligence.
4. When the man saw those boys quarrelling, he separated them,

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● 159 and asked them to go away. But when the man was out of sight, the two boys returned to resume their fight. When one of them started to cry, the other fled, for if he waited, the father of the former boy would have caught him and struck him.

5. When the older boy found the ball with his brother, he snatched it from him; the younger boy started to cry. When the mother asked the older boy to give it back to his brother, he did. But when the mother went out, the older boy took the ball again and ran outside the house with it, looking proud and happy. The other boys asked him to show it to them and play together with it. When he returned home his mother spat in his face for taking the ball from his brother. He said that he did not take it, but it was given to him by his brother, who did not want it any more. Then the mother told him that he was a liar and asked him to hand the ball back to his brother.
6. When the two boys talked secretly, one of them warned the other against their enemy. They decided not to talk or sit with him or show him anything they had.
7. He screamed, saying that he felt some people trampling over him, and on asking them who they were, they refused to answer him. Then he shouted to be rescued: 'Oh, the One (Yawahid)' (a way of imploring God when in a state of distress, or when frightened, especially used in the village to summon other people for help, who on hearing such a cry, would immediately go to see what had happened).
8. He prayed for gold, clothes, shoes and socks.
9. He wants to grow up to farm and grow corn and go to Cairo. He also wants to get married. He does not want to become an old man with a bent back who is going to die.

C. *Age fourteen:*

1. The boy is angry because the other boys do not play with him.
2. He cursed his father and mother and thus made them angry. They thrashed him, and when he cried they sent him outside the house 'for the dogs to eat him'.
3. When the boy broke the jars, he was never sent again to fetch water, and his sister had to do it instead.
4. He interfered between the two boys, gave each a slap on the face and cursed their fathers.
5. The older boy took the ball from his younger brother to play with it himself. The father came and thrashed the older boy and rebuked him for being jealous of his younger brother.
6. He showed the other boy a place where gold was hidden. After collecting the gold, they sold it and with the money bought clothes, cars and bicycles.
7. He was afraid that they might be thieves who would beat him,

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and the people gathered to his rescue after he shouted 'Oh, the One'.

8. He prayed to God to make him find a hidden treasure.
9. He wants to grow up to take over his father's work in the farm, while his father remains in the village.

D. *Age fifteen:*

1. The boy must have been beaten by somebody; or the boys who are playing must be stronger than he, and might have torn his clothes.
2. After his parents were angry with him, he had to leave the village, looking for livelihood somewhere else. After some time he got homesick, as he remembered his family and people, so he started to send money and letters to his parents trying to make up for his desertion. When he returned to the village, the parents were happy as their son had 'redeemed' himself. The grandparents and the maternal aunts helped to bring about this reconciliation.
3. His mother asked him how the jars were broken. She thought that her boy was affected by 'the evil eye' of other women. So she asked him to step over the fire in which she had sprinkled salt which was cracking. If his father heard about his breaking of the jars he would have beaten him; mothers are affectionate.
4. If the man had passed by without separating or quietening the fighting boys, he would have been blamed for that.
5. He plays with his younger brother and appeases him with the ball, so his mother might be able to get on with her cooking.
6. He took the other boy away to a secret place to tell him about his enemy who wants to kill him.
7. A thief must have attacked the boy, so that he cried out to wake up his family to rescue him. He may be crying with pain (sick).
8. He wants to find gold and become rich and to be able to wear fine clothes.
9. He wants to grow up and become a pious man, get married and perform his pilgrimage.

E. *Age sixteen:*

1. He did not play with the other boys because he was a 'polite' boy and did not wish to cause any trouble to his people.
2. The boy quarrelled with the other boys and his parents became angry with him. He fled to another place to find work. His parents were worried about his flight, and sent telegrams to 'the government'. Later on he returned to the village and his parents accepted him (lit. collected him) for fear of shame.
3. When the water-jars were broken the boy went home crying and his mother consoled him by saying, 'It does not matter, this is a "sacrifice" (fida) for you. It's a "baraka" that the evil eye hit the jars and not you. Your neck could have been broken.'

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1594. The man cuffed the two boys and gave them a lesson on how to be polite. He told them if someone cursed you or your father it is better to say 'May God forgive you', because the curse is actually inflicted on the person who curses, so it is better for him not to hit back, otherwise the curse will return on him.

5. He took the ball from his younger brother, and asked him to go to the Kuttab.

6. He must have told the other boy about money the former stole from his mother. The other boys on hearing this, said, 'With this money buy us something sweet to eat'.

7. The boy was frightened because he was 'seized' by a saint, vows to whom his parents had not fulfilled.

8. The boy prayed to enter paradise, be freed from disease and have no enemies.

9. He wants to grow up and memorize the Koran.

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Appendix Eleven

A NOTE ON SOME DREAMS COLLECTED IN THE VILLAGE

DREAMS are considered to be of value as a means of obtaining useful ethnological material, and thus could serve purposes similar to those of tests. The significance of dreams is hence relevant data for our study. It must be pointed out here that the writer was not fully aware of the importance of such data while he was in the field, and for this reason he did not collect enough dreams, and the ones recorded here are all those collected, without any selection.

In Silwa, women are reputed to be more capable of dreaming than men; they are also known to be better interpreters. Boys and girls do not communicate their dreams either to their parents or to other boys and girls. It was a great surprise for them to be asked to recollect dreams, and much effort was required by them to recall them.

It is believed that dreams are inspired by angels, or at least they are caused by some vaguely defined supernatural forces. The importance of dreams, especially as a means of forecasting future happenings, receives its religious justification from the story of the Prophet Joseph related in the Koran showing his infallible insight in interpreting dreams. At least, among men in the village, it is believed that the dreams of a person who sleeps ritually clean are truer than those of one who is not in the same state.

As in Tikopia, the weight attached to a dream varies according to the intensity of the personal situation at the time; a dream receives more credence in so far as it can be related to some question immediately at issue.[1] When a person is in a critical situation, e.g. financial difficulty, absence of a son, expecting decision in a law suit, or in the case of a pregnant woman, he or she does not only pay considerable attention to dreams, but asks relatives and friends to dream for him or her. On their part, such relatives and friends volunteer to tell such a person about dreams in which he or she may appear.

There is a certain formal technique of interpreting dreams, especially amongst women, which the writer did not investigate. The narration of

[1] Raymond Firth, 'The Meaning of Dreams in Tikopia', in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, ed. by E. Evans-Pritchard *et al.*, London, 1934, p. 69.

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APPENDIX XI The narration of

● 159 dreams usually starts by saying, 'I dreamt, May God render it good and blissful' (Allahum ijalu khair wazain), the listener usually answers, 'Good, if God wills' (khair insha Allah).

It is worth noting here that most of the dreams recorded reflect in their manifest content many features of the waking life in the village. As for their latent content, it is left to the psychologist to see in it the working of the unconscious.[1] The writer is aware of the lack of associations related to the 'working situation' of these dreams to render their psychological interpretation adequate.[2]

In some of these dreams, however, one cannot fail to recognize representations of imaginary fulfilment of ungratified wishes, sexual and otherwise, e.g. performing pilgrimage, eating meat, receiving money.

In children's dreams especially, one is struck by the strong indications and symbols, without much secondary elaboration or distortion, of anxiety, fear, and ambivalence. Anxiety and repressed fear of authority are reflected in symbols such as that of the child's fear of his head being cut off by the barber (a dream of the castration anxiety type); rolling down the sloping ground and dying (No. 2; if ground symbolizes mother this dream reflects uncertainty about mother's affection and hence an ungratified wish); being stung by a scorpion, which may be taken as a symbol of father and authority, but the boy was not dead; he was on a bed in a dark room, which represents the mother (wish for regression, No. 8). Ambivalence is obvious in dream No. 1, where an unconscious fear of the father (barber) is combined with another wish to please the father by fetching water; and also in dream 5, where ambivalence is reflected in indications of sibling rivalry for the father's love.

Such repressed desires and resentments reflect some of the unconscious pressures in the process of growing up, and to some of which allusions were made previously.

BOYS' DREAMS

Age eight:

One day I was going towards the fields when I found the son of the village barber cutting off the heads of some people with his razor. He approached me while I was on donkey-back and told me that he wanted to cut off my head too. I entreated him not to, for I was going to fetch water for my people, whereupon he let me go.

Age nine:

I was once sleeping on a mat on sloping ground. Suddenly I began to roll down, and died.

[1] 'No wish . . . is able to produce a dream unless it is either unconscious or else associated with an allied unconscious one.' Ernest Jones, *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, London, 1938, p. 263.

[2] Géza Roheim (ed.), 'Dream Analysis and Field-work in Anthropology', in *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*, Vol. I, New York, 1947, pp. 37–130.

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Age fourteen:
I was once in the fields when suddenly a group of people drew near to me. I started to run and they pursued me, but I escaped.

Age ten:
I dreamt we had many chickens and ducks. One day my mother went to feed and water them, but she found that they were all dead. This was by 'God's will', for they were not eaten by a wolf or anything else.

Age twelve:
I dreamt that I was catching fish in the pond near the railway station. When I had caught a fish I went to show it to my father. Beside me there were two other boys fishing. When I caught a big fish and I wanted to show it to my father, the two boys snatched it and ran away.

Age ten:
I dreamt that I was looking for stray money after market day. Every time I searched I found a coin which I put in a tin with a lid. At last I filled the tin with money which became my property.

Age fifteen:
There were black monkeys swimming in the canal and people were trying to catch them. But every time they attempted it, the monkeys dived into the water. At last they managed to get hold of them, took them out of the water and tied them to a tree. Later, they released the monkeys and made them fetch grass and clover from the field for the cows.

Age twelve:
I dreamt that I was stung by a scorpion. Then I was put on a bed with a mat on it in a dark room. People thought I had died and set up a wailing for me, but I was not dead.

Age fifteen:
I dreamt that my father returned from Cairo with another man. He brought me three pairs of shoes, four gallabiahs, a turban and a cap. My father himself was wearing a new pair of shoes and a new turban. And I also dreamt that when I got up in the morning I could not find my father.

GIRLS' DREAMS

Age eleven:
Once I dreamt that I fell into a pond, through my foot slipping. With me, at the time, were other girls who did not help me, but I managed to get out by myself.

Age twelve:
Once I was attacked by a monster with bulging eyes, protruding teeth and jet black skin. While it was getting ready to strike me, I began to weep.

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●159 *Age thirteen:*
I dreamt once that I saw the Prophet under a green dome. Then I called upon my sisters to come and shake hands with the Prophet saying, 'He is like my father, but better than him(?)'

Age ten:
Once I was crossing a very large bridge, and suddenly it collapsed and I was drowning in the canal. I cried, 'O father, O people, come and rescue me'.

Age twelve:
Once I dreamt that I found a pigeon which took me on pilgrimage. Whilst I was in Mecca I found a treasure. Then I returned home on the pigeon's back. Later on I took my grandmother, maternal aunt and my sister to visit Hijaz (Holy Places). We spent the treasure on building a big palace. Then suddenly a lion appeared; I was so frightened that I woke up.

Age ten:
One day I was sitting in the street looking at a book. Then came 'azzabbal' (trader who collects chicken droppings in exchange for female wares, e.g. needles, thread, salt, spices), and reminded me of the book I had promised to give him, but I told him that I could not give him any book, for fear of the teacher. Then 'azzabbal' took me on to the top of a wall and threw me into the river. I remained swimming around for a long time without knowing where to go, till I woke up.

MEN'S DREAMS

Age about twenty-eight, my informant Ali:
I dreamt that my father and mother-in-law had been preparing themselves to perform pilgrimage to Mecca. I asked my wife, then, to prepare food for me to join them on their journey, and the three of us went to the shrines of the Holy Places.

Age twenty-eight, Ali:
I dreamt that I was attacked by a bull with big horns. He trampled on me but I managed to escape for a while. The bull persisted in pursuing me. At last I held him by the horns which he kept on shaking in attempting to free himself, but I jumped on his back. It ran towards the Nile, and as he dived into the water, I jumped off on to land and escaped.

Age twenty-five:
One day I found a stray camel running loose into our farm. I went towards the camel to drive it away from the field. But all of a sudden I saw a naked man who said that he was the owner of the camel, and warned me against doing any harm to his animal. Then I grabbed the man by the neck and we began hitting each other. After he suffered from

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my beating he fled. (This young man told me that he found this dream difficult to interpret, so he related it to a person who is known to be good in interpreting dreams. The latter told him that the camel was his 'karina'; and everybody has a 'karina' that follows him in his life and causes him a lot of trouble and needs to be propitiated.)

Age twenty-two, just married and had a newly-born girl:[1]

I dreamt that my wife was pregnant, and she brought forth a boy. When I consulted my father about naming him, he insisted on calling him by the name 'Mostafa'[2] but I wanted to give him another name, and there was disagreement between my father and me. (The man connected this dream with the fact that later on his wife brought forth a girl whom he called Zainab, and that his father fell ill.)

Age forty-five:

I dreamt that I was transformed into a 'green sparrow', and that on the Night of Kadr (the night of the 27th of Ramadan)[3] I entered Paradise where I stayed for seven years. Overwhelmed by the vastness of Paradise I enquired whether there was an end to it, and I was told that it had no end, and that there was neither sun nor moon; there one suffers neither heat nor cold; people sleep on couches; there are palaces the like of which have never been built on earth, fruits that have never been grown on this planet. While I was told all this, two people were holding me, one by the right arm, and the other by the left. But all of a sudden, a man came from behind me and pushed me out of Paradise saying, 'You don't deserve it yet'. (He commented that after this God helped him to perform his pilgrimage.)

Age forty approximately:

Once I dreamt that Ahmad (the wealthiest village shopkeeper) was climbing a palm tree, and suddenly fell to the ground. People gathered round him and tried to revive him with 'the smell of onions and garlic'. When he recovered he said, 'I have fallen from above. But I am safe, thanks to God.'

WOMEN'S DREAMS

Age forty-five:

One day I went to the well adjacent to our clan's guest house, and found at the entrance of the guest house the man who draws the water from the well. Inside the guest house there were plants growing, such as clover and sugar cane. The man asked me to enter the guest house 'to see my father's farm'(?) When I entered I found that the northern section of the guest

[1] This dream was just before his wife gave birth to the baby.

[2] This is also the baby's grandfather's name.

[3] According to Moslem belief, the Prophet invisibly during this night made a journey from Mecca to Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem. It is believed by the villagers that there is a certain unknown hour on this night, during which prayers are always answered.

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159 house was dark with two empty water jars, while the southern side was lit and with two full water jars. I asked the man the reason for this. He told me that I was not permitted to ask such questions, but merely to look around. Then I asked him to give me some clover for my sheep as this was my father's land. He said that he could not give me anything as he was only a guardian. Then he took my water jar which I had filled and placed it in the guest house, saying, 'This water jar should not enter your house'.

Age seventy-five:

I dreamt that my father was sitting talking with 'Hag abu-Ghannam' (a pious man). The pious man's face looked dark (lit. smoky) while my father's face was bright and shining. Then the pious man asked me whether I was capable of going to see my relatives, who lived in another village, but my father said, 'No, she is not strong enough for that'.

Age thirty-five:

I dreamt that I was riding a donkey which on hearing the sound of a train threw me into the canal. In the water I found some grass tuft to which I clung. Then I discovered an iron rail leading to the bank on which I walked and so got out safely.

Age thirty-eight:

I dreamt that last year I went on pilgrimage, and saw the Prophet's tomb which has four doors, one in the east, one in the west, one in the north and one in the south. I entered the tomb from the west door while other people were looking through a window. On the north side of the Prophet's tomb there was a minaret. (The woman commented that when she told one of the pilgrims about this dream he confirmed these details, [787] and this meant that one day God would enable her to perform this religious obligation.)

Age thirty:

I was eating meat with another woman. While we were eating another girl came whom I did not know, and we gave her a portion of the meat, [788] while we went on eating the rest. (The woman commented that meat in the dream is a sign that something good may turn up unexpectedly.)

Age about forty:

One day a man came and presented me with a load of chaff and I was very pleased. (She commented that when she told her mother about it, [789] the latter said that it might mean they would receive some money to buy their ration of sugar and some clothes. After three days her husband, who works in Alexandria, sent her two pounds.)

Age thirty:

A woman neighbour was playing on the tambourine and singing with other women celebrating her son's circumcision ceremony. I filled my jar

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with water to give to her as a help for the ceremony. While I was pouring my jar into the water pot of her house, the women who were there started singing for me. I was frightened. (She commented that the 'tambourine' is an evil omen in the dream and indicates that something bad may happen.) 159 [787]

Age forty:

During the wedding ceremony of our neighbour a man gave me two coins, one for myself and the other for another woman (X). X was greedy and wanted to take the two coins. (She commented that the dream was realized, as next morning X's daughter brought forth a boy, and on the evening of the same day, she gave birth to a son.) [787]

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Appendix Thirteen

REMARKS ON THE RORSCHACH TESTING

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The Rorschach ink-blots test was administered to male adults, and to some of the school boys and girls, twenty subjects from each group. The test was administered at the writer's home, always after a friendly chat with the subject. With the first few tests on the school children, it was found that the children attempted to give responses in 'classical Arabic', but this difficulty was soon got over when the children were told that the task had nothing to do with the school. The original idea was to give these records to a Rorschach expert in Egypt, but unfortunately he was prevented by illness from undertaking the task of interpretation. Consequently, the writer took a three-term course on the technique at the Tavistock Clinic, Institute of Human Relations. Thus any failure to give a full account of the results of testing can be attributed to his lack of sufficient experience. The method of scoring and interpretation is mainly based on that of Rorschach himself and also that of Mons.[1]

The interpretation of children's records is not attempted here, but the interpretive significance of the adults' records is given.

The first striking fact about the records is that none of the twenty subjects rejected any of the cards during their performance. The average number of responses totalled twenty-five (the average responses for a sufficiently productive person according to the experience of Rorschach experts is twenty to thirty). Thus from the quantity of their responses one is inclined to infer that the members of this group show on the whole a capacity for productivity and persistence. They try to do their best in performing a task, and do not give up easily.

The proportion between 'whole responses—W' and 'detail responses—D and d' is 14 per cent and 86 per cent respectively. This suggests a tendency to view situations in a practical and concrete manner. In other words the members of the group in their intellectual approach are more concerned with realistic situations than with abstract concepts. Moreover, their pronounced interest in minor details (d and Dd) suggests a tendency

[1] B. Klopfer and D. Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique*. W. Mons, *Principles and Practice of the Rorschach Personality Test*, London, 1950.

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159 towards fussiness. Many of the subjects repeated the same responses in different cards or in the same card. From this one may venture to conclude that they are rather obsessional in their habits and tend to tackle their problems at random. Furthermore the proportion of wholes to human movement (W : M) being 4 : 1 suggests that their mental output is mostly reproductions of other people's ideas accepted without critical thinking.

The very high percentage of 'pure form F' responses, amounting to 82 per cent, leaves one without doubt, according to Rorschach principles, that these people are very rigid in their outlook and approach towards life (the reasonable intellectual control is represented by 50 per cent F responses).

This rigid intellectual control and desire for conformity is also confirmed from the records by very low frequency of human movement responses (M). The percentage of M responses is 4·5; and out of twenty persons fourteen persons gave no M response at all. The quality of the few M's given is not vigorous or lively on the whole. All this suggests that these villagers have great resistance against revealing their fantasy life which is kept under control by their caution and their preference for a more conventional and restricted mode of expression (F%). Their fantasies are to a great degree inhibited and they make little use of their creative imagination.

With regard to colour (C), only four did not give any colour responses. When the proportion of M to C is examined (1 : 3·5) one can state that these people are on the whole extratensive, and more readily responsive in their emotional reactions to the external world. Their emotional life tends to find its main outlet more in outer reactions, conventional procedures rather than in mature fantasy or introspection. In ten cases there is a balanced outer maturity, judging by the almost equal number of FC and CF, while in the remaining records there is a definite tendency towards impulsiveness and lack of maturity, shown by preponderance of CF over FC.

These are some of the striking observations on the interpretive significance of the Rorschach records of this group, showing some of the basic traits of the personality structure in this group.[1] The small sample, however, would not allow for unreserved generalization. Moreover, the individual differences are quite apparent from the different responses in the group. The following are samples of the Rorschach responses:

[1] The interpretation of these records is by no means complete; it lacks for instance analysis of content and quality of organization. I have tried, however, to follow Rorschach experiments in the study of culture-personality approach. See E. Oberholzer, 'Rorschach's Experiment and the Alorese', in *The People of Alor*, by Cora du Bois, Chapter XXII. Theodora M. Abel and Renata A. Calabresi, Chapter XIII in *Life in a Mexican Village*, by O. Lewis. Leighton and Kluckhohn, *The Children of the People*.

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APPENDIX XIII

SAMPLES OF MEN'S RECORDS

Mahmoud—informant.

Card No.	*Performance*[1]
I	dog
	woman
2 minutes	cow
	man
	buffalo
	boy
	young girl
II	big woman
	virgin girl
4 minutes	calf
	dog with open mouth
	ram
III	cock
	monkey
4 minutes	fish
	fish
	man
	another man
	mouse
	rabbit
	duck
	cock
IV	elephant
	bird
4 minutes	lion
	dog
	train smoke-stack
V	woman
	tongues
3 minutes	two people arguing
	crocodile
	man
	crocodile with wide mouth
VI	bird
	constable
2 minutes	old man
	bull
	cow

[1] Enquiry omitted.

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Card No.	*Performance*
VII	camel
	woman
3 minutes	rabbit
	ewe
VIII	flag
	ewe
5 minutes	ewe
	man
	man holding the ewe by its leg
IX	man wearing his turban
	man riding his horse
3 minutes	donkey
	ewe
X	poisonous snake
	woman
5 minutes	another snake with its mouth open and tail curled
	scorpion
	mouse
	rabbit
	table with a bottle on it
	scorpion
	a sleeping woman

Ali—informant (30 years).

I 1 minute	middle part looks like 'sea scorpion', outer parts wings
II 3 minutes	the red parts look like two mice, dark parts like wolves or crows, lower red part butterflies
III 3 minutes	a human skeleton, with a stomach attached to it, the red part like two lungs—opening of anus with faeces emerging
IV 2 minutes	an animal which I don't know, and has two eyes and two horns, the whole thing may be some sort of decoration
V 1 minute	a bat, with two ears, two legs and two wings
VI 30 seconds	something decorated

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Card No.	*Performance*
VII 1 minute	two people facing each other, putting a hand behind back, and lifting the other
VIII 1 minute	monkeys on a hill, or perhaps a tent with a pole in the middle
IX 1 minute	two animals, with a pole in the middle
X 7 minutes	two people falling on their heads from the top pole lion rabbit's head like the inner parts of the body, throat and lungs yellow flower bud

Man—fifty years old.

I 2 minutes	a bat vine leaves a black insect frog
II 1½ minutes	rabbit pencil the leg of a pigeon
III 1 minute	a picture of a man human heart gall bladder hands
IV 1 minute	looks like a huge rock with pipes hanging down human legs
V 1 minute	mouse sparrow's feet sparrow's wings
VI 1½ minutes	statue pole on which statue stands bird's claws
VII 1½ minutes	bird camel tree leaves or stones

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Card No.	*Performance*
VIII	a picture of a monkey
	tree from which monkeys are hanging
1 minute	roots of the trees
IX	perforated tree leaves
1 minute	red tomatoes
X	smoke-stack
	an entrance door
5 minutes	picture of a bird
	scorpion
	frame of a picture
	(this is the strangest card)

SAMPLES OF CHILDREN'S RECORDS

Card No.	*Performance*
Boy—10½ years old.	
I	two men clapping with their hands
	two mountains
1 minute	mosque
	dome
II	plants
	roses (red)
4 minutes	pigeon
	head of a cock
III	two cocks
	foot of a man
3 minutes	cock
	frog
IV	man
30 seconds	
V	kite flying
30 seconds	
VI	camel
30 seconds	
VII	

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Card No.	*Performance*
VIII	dome
	cat
1 minute	water jar
IX	tree
1 minute	vine leaf (green)
X	mouse
1 minute	woman

Boy—fourteen years old

I	Jinn (ghost—black) with its two eyes, mouth, horns and
2 minutes	feet
II	mosque
	blood (red)
2 minutes	dogs with ears
	open space
	ears
	mouth of a dog
III	like ghosts
	blood (red)
2 minutes	necks of ghosts
	their feet
IV	mountain and clouds over it (black)
1 minute	stones
V	wasp (black with feathers)
1½ minutes	these are its wings and legs.
VI	statue
1 minute	black garment
VII	devils with horns. These are its tails, and they are sitting
1½ minutes	in a dark place
VIII	dome
	lion
1 minute	red soil
IX	fire (red and yellow)
1 minute	firewood

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Card No.	*Performance*
X	like a garden
	lion
3 minutes	deer
	face of a donkey
	fallen plants (scattered green)
	wood
	camels

Girl—ten years old.

I	camel
	kite
1½ minutes	crow
II	two monkeys, these are their legs and they are putting their
1 minute	hands on each other
III	a man, another man
	rose
1½ minutes	hands of the men, their feet
IV	wasp, these are its wings
30 minutes	
V	wasp, these are its feet and this is its mouth
1 minute	
VI	mosque, these are its walls, its stairs and its dome
1 minute	
VII	hill, stones
30 seconds	
VIII	mice
	hell (red)
1 minute	Paradise (green)
IX	monkeys, sitting on stones and hitting each other
30 seconds	
X	a man riding a donkey
	deer
2 minutes	pigeon
	cock, hen, rabbit, cock, hen

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Card No.	*Performance*
Girl—twelve years old.	
I	a tree with some people sitting on the top of it
	stones
3 minutes	bird
	duck
II	men putting their hands on each other, and wearing caps
3 minutes	on their heads, facing each other
III	monkeys with a red nose, the monkeys are sitting with their hands and legs cut off
3 minutes	a man putting his hand on his waist
IV	a lion sitting with a small head
1 minute	
V	a wasp on the ground with its wings and ears
2 minutes	
VI	a corn mill, people pouring seeds into the mill
1 minute	
VII	small fish in the water
30 seconds	
VIII	a cat on the tree and eating from it
30 seconds	
IX	people praying in the mosque
30 seconds	
X	water wheel with its pole
	donkey
3 minutes	owl
	butterfly

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and bead bracelets, bunches of human hair, handkerchiefs, first-fruits of the cornfields, and so on. Each one registers an answered prayer, for the people flock in crowds to these tombs on certain days of the week—usually Thursdays or Fridays—generally to make some special request, or with the object of being freed from some disease, which they believe the sheikh can cure. A childless woman, or persons possessed by *ʿafārīt*, will come to beg the sheikh to intercede for them. Indeed, the performances of certain rites at the tomb may in themselves effect a cure.

Having removed his or her shoes before entering the building, the visitor then walks from left to right round the catafalque erected beneath the dome three, five, or seven times, reciting meanwhile special passages from the Ḳorān. These perambulations accomplished, the servant of the sheikh takes a broom, kept for this special purpose, and carefully brushes out all the footprints in the interior of the building.

Sick animals are also brought by their owners to a sheikh's tomb, round which they are driven seven times.

In one of the provinces of Upper Egypt, on the lower desert, stands the domed tomb of the sheikh Ḥasan ʿAli (Fig. 139). It is surrounded by a low mud-brick wall, which encloses a few small trees, a well, and two or three graves, wherein relatives of the dead sheikh lie buried. Pots of *ṣabr* (aloes) also decorate the sacred spot, for this plant is believed to bring happiness to the dead. The building is whitewashed, and is decorated with line-drawings in red and blue, illustrating the pilgrimage to Mecca. The surrounding desert is covered with the graves of more ordinary folk. These are marked by heaps of sand, into which are stuck branches of palm-trees, for palm-branches, like the aloe-plants, are believed to be the means of conveying happiness to the dead who lie beneath.

The sheikh Ḥasan ʿAli was only eighteen years old when he died, but from his earliest years he was noted for his piety. He was educated at a small school in his native village, and, as soon as he had learned to read, he spent all his leisure moments studying the Ḳorān. When he died he was buried in an ordinary grave in the lower desert among his dead fellow-villagers. However, one day, when old ʿAli (his father) was squatting on a *maṣṭabeh* (see p. 32), with his head resting on his hand, his dead son appeared before him and caught hold of him by the wrist, saying, " I am very angry."

His father said, " Why are you angry, my son ? "